

United States has obligations under the North Atlantic Treaty. I also believe that the American public and Congress are willing to use U.S. military forces to defend U.S. national security interests.

In an effort to convince the American public and the Congress, President Clinton will address the Nation this evening to defend the United States-brokered Bosnia peace agreement and describe America's national or vital security interests which warrant the need to deploy United States military forces to Bosnia. In short, he needs to convince the public and Congress that it is the proper course of action for the United States to deploy troops to Bosnia.

Mr. President, it is imperative that President Clinton make the case for United States involvement in Bosnia to the American public and gain their support before any United States military forces are deployed to Bosnia. The President must be clear about United States objectives in Bosnia and the risks involved. The decision to deploy U.S. military forces and the length of time spent in the operation should not be based on Presidential politics. The decision to send U.S. military forces has to be based on clear and achievable objectives and goals, and a developed exit strategy.

ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT FIDEL V. RAMOS OF THE PHILIPPINES AT THE EAST WEST CENTER IN HONOLULU

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, I wish to submit for the RECORD the statement of the distinguished President of the Philippines, Fidel V. Ramos, on the topic of "Regional Cooperation and Economic Development in the Philippines." President Ramos delivered the statement last month as part of the First Hawaiian Lecture Series at the East West Center in Honolulu. The presentation was part of the ongoing efforts of the East West Center to provide a badly needed platform for prominent government and business leaders to comment on relations in the Asia-Pacific region. In this endeavor, the East West Center, Mr. President, has no equals. For the past 25 years it has been the nerve center for bringing together opinion leaders, as is evident from President Ramos' presence.

Mr. President, I offer President Ramos' speech as a matter of great interest to the Members of this body. We need to know what our best friends think of our foreign policy. Clearly, the Philippines, and President Ramos especially, are good friends, good partners, and strong allies of the United States.

In his statement, President Ramos makes an observation regarding the direction of U.S. foreign policy that should not be ignored. In a few words, he tells us not to trust old conventions or concepts that are out of place in the post-cold-war environment. Instead, he says, and I quote:

The United States must redefine its concept of national security in economic and cultural terms. Like the rest of us, America's place in the future world will be determined just as much by the creativity of its workpeople and the daring of its entrepreneurs as by the devastating power of its weapons.

Since virtually all of its trade deficit comes from its East Asian commerce, the United States is looking for a new sense of fairness in its economic relationships with the Asia-Pacific region. Over the past 30 years, the U.S. security umbrella—and the rich U.S. market—have enabled East Asia to prosper. Now American leaders argue that Americans must see their country as sharing in this prosperity—if American taxpayers are to continue supporting their country's continued security engagement in the region.

We of the Philippines have no problem at all with this proposition—particularly since we do not regard economic competition as a winner-take-all or zero-sum contest. In the economic competition, everybody wins—and even the relative "loser" ends up richer than when he started.

I have selected this passage from the text of the speech because it characterizes what I perceive to be the attitude of our Asian-Pacific partners toward expanded trade.

I agree with President Ramos: There is a new post-cold-war competition. We, the United States, cannot afford to distance ourselves from regional and global participation any more than we had assumed the heavy burden of regional and global security during the cold war. Economic competition, like trade, tightens relationships, fosters cultural understanding, and generally produces all winners, even though there may be short-term losses.

President Ramos knows what he's talking about. The trade ties between our countries are strong, with the Philippines ranking as our 26th largest export market. In addition, the U.S. stock of foreign investment in that country stands at nearly \$2 billion. Although this investment has been in manufacturing and banking in the past, the restoration of such former United States military installations as Subic Bay to the Philippines has opened still newer, mutual trade opportunities. Today, U.S. cargo shippers are developing major staging and warehousing facilities there, contributing to our increased trade position in the region.

The Philippines is emerging as a reliable place for Americans to do business. In July 1991, the Government set in motion a major program for the reduction, restructuring, and simplification of tariffs. Its government procurement program does not discriminate against foreign bidders. The Philippines has excised from its books preferential rates for export financing for domestic companies and is a signatory to the GATT Subsidies Code. After some disagreements with the United States on intellectual property protection, the Philippines is drafting new legislation on trademarks, copyrights, and patents that promise to be world class. The importance of the Phil-

ippines intellectual property changes should not be underestimated. The country is largely dependent on imported technology. Today, much of that comes in the form of computer disks, tapes, and other media with embedded software. This software provides computer-based routines for manufacturing, education, medical, and other applications of technology essential to national growth. Indeed, much of this software comes from my own State of Utah. Without appropriate protection of their property, exporters of technology would be very reluctant to market it abroad.

While there are some deficiencies remaining in the country's trade statutes, we should commend the Philippines for their rate of progress in the past 5 years alone.

Clearly, the pace at which the Philippines is entering the world trade arena will establish it as a competitive and worthy partner of which all fair trade countries will want to take notice. For these and the reasons stated earlier, I commend the balance of President Ramos' remarks to the RECORD and ask unanimous consent that the entire speech be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

AMERICA'S ROLE IN EAST ASIA

(Address of H.E. President Fidel V. Ramos, before the East-West Center, October 16, 1995)

INTRODUCTION AND THEME STATEMENT

From your vantage point here on these lovely islands, even to doubt whether the United States will remain an Asia-Pacific power seems no less than ridiculous.

But perspectives shift with longitude—and I must tell you that concerns about America's staying power—specifically, concerns about the strength of the U.S. commitment to intervene in future regional crises—are beginning to preoccupy most countries in East Asia.

Over this past generation, the regional stability underwritten by the United States has given our countries the leisure to cultivate economic growth. Now the fear is widespread among them that the United States is turning inward—that it will revert to the isolationism which has characterized its foreign policy throughout much of its history.

I must add that we of the Philippines believe the United States will remain in the Asia-Pacific—and not out of altruism, but in its own interest.

You more than any others realize how the tilt of U.S. population away from its Atlantic Coast, the influx of Asian migrants, and the attraction of East Asian trade and investments have made your country a true Asia-Pacific power.

And so it cannot afford to leave the Asian Continent in the hands of a single dominant power—any more than it could tolerate Western Europe's being in the same situation.

America's role in East Asia is my topic here this afternoon. Let me summarize the four points I wish to make before I elaborate on them:

First—over the foreseeable future, the United States must continue to be the fulcrum of East Asia's balance of power.

Second—economic competition between the United States and East Asia is not "winner-take-all" but a game both sides can win.

A vigorous American economy is just as good for East Asia as it is for Americans themselves.

Third—now that political values have become just as important as traditional security concerns and economic interests in the relations between countries, I ask you not to underestimate the power of America's democratic ideals to help shape East Asian political systems.

Fourth—America's military hegemony in the post-cold war period gives it the historic opportunity to bring political morality to international relationships—to shape a moral world order. And this is a chance America must grasp—before it slips away.

Now let me take up these four points one by one.

FULCRUM OF THE EAST ASIAN BALANCE OF POWER

Over these last 50 years, the sustained United States presence in East Asia—and its willingness to mediate East Asia's conflicts—have ensured there would be no repetition of the Korean war—and that the Vietnam war “dominoes” would fall the other way.

By interposing itself between the Chinese civil war protagonists across the Taiwan Straits, the United States presence enabled Beijing and Taipei to cool off their enmities—and in fact to cooperate in the South China growth triangle with Hong Kong. The United States has also acted as a buffer between Japan and China—and between them separately and the Soviet Union.

The cold war's end has not ended the usefulness of the American presence. Over the foreseeable future, the United States must continue to be the main prop of the East Asian balance of power—if only to preserve the bubble of stability that keeps East Asia's “economic miracle” going.

In this role, the United States has no competitor. Its military presence is—uniquely—acceptable to all the powers with legitimate interests in the region.

Over the future we contemplate, Russia's energies will be directed inward—to problems at home—and to relationships with its commonwealth neighbors in the former Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, fifty years after the Pacific war, Japan has neither completely reconciled with East Asia nor decided on its new role in the region.

CHINA WILL BE EAST ASIA'S MOST SERIOUS CONCERN

China—over these next 25 years—by the World Bank's estimate—will become the world's largest economy. Over this next quarter-century, China will unavoidably press—politically and militarily—on East Asia, even if Beijing made no effort to build up its capability to project power beyond its strategic borders.

How China exercises its political and military clout must concern us all. (The opposite possibility—of China's economic collapse and its reversion to “Warlordism”—is, if anything, even more alarming.)

The allies in Western Europe solved a roughly similar problem by integrating postwar Germany into the European Union. So must we endeavor to integrate China into the Asia-Pacific Community—economically through the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation [APEC] and politically through the Asean Regional Forum [ARF]—if we are to have lasting regional stability.

Only with America's help—only with America's leadership—can this be carried out successfully.

China and the United States—the “Elephant” and the “Whale,” Walter Lippmann once called them—one a land—and the other a maritime-power, so that their interests were not antagonistic but complementary.

But, today, the elephant is learning to swim: China is building itself a blue-water navy. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, America's political and military dominance has been unchallenged. Is China gearing up to become the only counterforce to United States hegemony in the post-cold war world?

Over these past 15 years or so, China has set aside its historical grievances, its ideological mission and its geopolitical ambitions in its pursuit of economic growth. Will it return to these causes once its economic growth is assured?

China's encroachment into mischief reef—part of our Kalayaan (Freedom) group of islets in the Spratlys—should warn us that China claims nearly two million square miles of land in adjacent countries; and that it also has unresolved territorial or maritime disputes with Russia, India, North Korea, Tajikistan, Japan, Vietnam, Malaysia, Brunei, and Indonesia—any one of which could spark off a local conflict.

CONTAINMENT OR ENGAGEMENT?

How are we—its neighbors—to deal with China?

The debate rages between those who urge “containment”—after the way the west restrained an expansionist U.S.S.R. in the early years of the cold war—and those who believe China's “engagement” into our peaceful network of economic and political institutions to be the better course.

We in the Philippines believe we must apply one or the other response as the emerging situation demands.

We must discourage any Chinese aggressiveness—yes—but we must also encourage every trend that ties the Chinese economy more tightly to those of its neighbors in the Asia-Pacific.

Obviously, we cannot approach today's China with preconceived notions when this huge and complex country—a civilization in itself—is in the middle of such an epochal transition.

This is why the Asean states refuse to commit themselves prematurely to the proposal for “prepositioning” United States materiel.

This caution is partly a lesson remembered from the colonial period—when the weak were wise to stay away from the quarrels of the strong. But it also results from an appreciation of the chance that the dismantling of the American naval and air bases removes a potential provocation to Asean's giant neighbor—and invites China to live-and-let-live with Southeast Asia.

Meanwhile, even the reduced United States deployments close to the Asean region are a counterweight enough in the region's security balance.

Some say that, if Beijing should continue encroaching on the South China Sea, then this aggressiveness will accelerate security cooperation among the Southeast Asian countries—and between them and the United States.

But, for the moment, the Asean states are betting that interdependence and intensified cooperation will preempt the rise of longstanding political antagonisms.

Economic interdependence may not by itself prevent conflicts. But it does raise the cost—and the threshold—for using force, especially among the great powers.

JAPAN, OUR OTHER MAIN CONCERN

About Japan, we of the Philippines have two basic concerns. The first is that the alliance between Japan and the United States must be preserved; and the second is that Japan must find a political role in the world proportionate to its economic power.

Like all the other Southeast Asian countries, we want Japan's alliance with the United States to continue—although we now accept the alliance must be redefined into something closer to a genuine partnership.

There is an inherent anomaly—similar to the original West European effort to keep apart the two Germanys—in today's Japan remaining a strategic client of the United States. This can only fan an unhealthy kind of nationalism in a country acutely aware of both its economic strength and its cultural uniqueness—increasing the danger that the trade disputes of the United States and Japan would spill over into their security relationship.

The Philippines supports—within the context of United Nations reforms—Japan's bid for a permanent seat in the Security Council.

We see this as enhancing Japan's integration into the world community. And we are reasonably confident Japan's political role will be exercised on the side of peace—if only because the Japanese people have suffered so much of war.

To sum up this section—we of the Philippines believe any dilution of the American commitment to East Asian stability will severely undermine regional confidence—put an end to the region's economic miracle—and perhaps set off an arms race that could have incalculable, tragic consequences for all of us.

Let me now turn to the economic ties between the United States and East Asia.

ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN U.S. AND EAST ASIA

Economic interdependence among the Asia-Pacific countries has largely been market-driven: Only now are the APEC governments trying to manage it. And the key to the region's tremendous growth has been the shift to free-market economies among its democratic and authoritarian states alike.

Already the United States exports more to East Asia than it does to its traditional markets in Europe and Latin America. And East Asia's market is becoming even more attractive.

By the year 2000, the World Bank estimates that half the growth in the global economy will come from East Asia alone. In five years' time, one billion East Asians will have significant consumer spending power; and of these, 400 million will have average disposable income as high as their European or American counterparts, if not higher.

This means the economic dimension to Asia-Pacific relationships will be stronger than it is already.

Like the rest of us, the United States must redefine its concept of national security in economic and cultural terms.

Like the rest of us, America's place in the future world will be determined just as much by the creativity of its workpeople and the daring of its entrepreneurs as by the devastating power of its weapons.

Since virtually all of its trade deficit comes from its East Asian commerce, the United States is looking for a new sense of fairness in its economic relationships with the Asia-Pacific region.

Over the past 30 years, the United States security umbrella—and the rich United States market—have enabled East Asia to prosper. Now American leaders argue that Americans must see their country as sharing in this prosperity—if American taxpayers are to continue supporting their country's continued security engagement in the region.

We of the Philippines have no problem at all with this proposition—particularly since we do not regard economic rivalry as a winner-take all or zero-sum contest. In economic competition, everybody wins—and even the relative “loser” ends up richer than when he started.

Since it takes two to trade, a strong American economy is as good for us in East Asia as it is for you in America.

In sum—we do not want an underperforming, undersaving, under-investing American economy any more than you do—if only because a weakened American economy will trigger off strong protectionist tendencies in the United States.

THE U.S. AS AN INFLUENCE ON EAST ASIAN
DEMOCRATIZATION

Ladies and gentlemen:

Over the past half-century, a spacious sense of its self-interest has impelled the United States to help shape East Asian development—in fact, to make East Asian development happen.

And this enlightened self-interest derives from the very idea that is America. Its Founding Fathers saw their country as a venture greater than just another national enterprise. They saw their country as bringing a message of revolutionary enlightenment to all humankind.

That revolutionary message has not lost its relevance—particularly for East Asian people who—as they become richer and more secure—are demanding respect from their rulers—and a say in how they are governed.

Authoritarian regimes may seek their legitimacy by sponsoring capitalist growth. But economic development cannot—forever—substitute for democracy. And it is to the idea of America that East Asia looks—in its groping for freedom. Look at how the Chinese student-militants of 1989 dared to raise a 30-foot plaster model of the Statue of Liberty on Tiananmen Square.

During the cold war, America was sometimes accused of a cynical willingness to sacrifice democracy abroad to preserve democracy at home. Now, at last, America can reconcile power and morality in its foreign relations.

Despite a decline in its relative wealth, capacity and influence, the United States today is the world's only superpower. And it is at the cutting edge of a revolution in both military technology and doctrine which promises to preserve its military preeminence in the world for at least another generation.

Because of its hegemonic power, America “can afford the luxury of attending to principle.”

America can be to the world what its founders meant it to be—the ultimate refuge of all those “yearning to breathe free.”

WORTHWHILE CAUSES FOR AMERICAN IDEALISM

And—although the ideological challenge from messianic communism has collapsed—there is no lack of worthwhile causes for American idealism.

We are as far away from a stable—and moral—international order as we were at the end of World War II. Far too many regions of the world are still subject to regimes of varying barbarism; while other national societies are disintegrating in anarchy.

If only America can gather its resolve, it can also lead the global community to begin dealing with the tremendous income disparities among nations—and alleviating the mass-poverty of regions like South Asia and sub-Saharan Africa.

Then there is the care and protection of the global environment—a task so susceptible to the free-rider axiom that it needs exceptional leadership to organize effectively and equitably.

In these vital missions of reawakening America to its historical role—and of propagating in the Asia-Pacific the ideals and values America stands for—this center of intellect and scholarship will continue to play an ever-increasing role.

Throughout its time on Earth, humankind has been striving for the ideal society. Unless we of the Asia-Pacific and America embark on a win-win Direction, that ideal may forever remain beyond our grasp.

But, if America remains true to its original sense of revolutionary enlightenment, perhaps it can lead the world to approximate that ideal: To banish pain and fear and hunger—to bring a measure of peace and prosperity to every region—to enable every nation to discover the extraordinary possibilities of ordinary people.

Thank you and good day!

PROTECTING PROPERTY RIGHTS

Mr. HATCH. Mr. President, as my colleagues are aware, I have introduced legislation to reform the way property owners are treated by the Government. My legislation would encourage, support, and promote the private ownership of property by clarifying existing laws and creating a more uniform and efficient process by which these rights are protected. In short, it seeks to protect the rights of citizens as envisioned by the Framers of the Constitution.

Recently, however, critics have misinterpreted some of the bill's provisions. For example, some have stated that this bill would cost the taxpayers billions of dollars to implement or that it would force the Government to pay polluters to clean up their act. These fears are not warranted.

I was encouraged by an editorial in Salt Lake City's Deseret News headlined “Enough with half-truths about property rights bill.” This editorial dispels the myths and misconceptions about property rights legislation. I commend it to my colleagues. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the text of the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Salt Lake City Deseret News,
Nov. 20, 1995]

ENOUGH WITH HALF-TRUTHS ABOUT PROPERTY
RIGHTS BILL

Politicians and activists must think they are terribly clever when they toss around inaccuracies and inflated half-truths in order to win public sentiment.

Take, for instance, the attacks on Sen. Orrin Hatch's omnibus Property Rights Act, which is set to break out of the Judiciary Committee before Thanksgiving. In recent days, critics, including President Clinton, have ranted about the Utah's senator's attempts, through the bill, to force the government to “pay polluters” to clean up their operations. They have carried on about the bill's enormous costs to government (some have placed the figure in the tens of billions of dollars).

These are arguments certain to strike fear in the heart of every sober-minded American concerned with the environment and taxes—just in time for Halloween. Trouble is, they are as hollow as jack-o'-lanterns.

Critics are conveniently overlooking this sentence in the bill: “The government is not required to pay compensation in cases when the property is a nuisance.” Whoops.

Polluters, by anyone's definition, are nuisances. If the government can prove the item in question—say, a belching smoke stack or a toxic waste dump—is a nuisance, it won't have to pay compensation. No one will be paying polluters, after all.

Critics also are overlooking, or perhaps ignoring, a study recently released by the Congressional Budget Office showing the bill

would cost only up to \$40 million annually, and then only for the first few years. After that, costs would drop because agencies would avoid actions that could lead to protests by property owners. Whoops, again.

The bill is a reasonable attempt to clarify and solve a conundrum as old as the republic. While the Fifth Amendment prevents the taking of private property for public use without compensation, government must retain the right to pass regulations for the greater good of society.

Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes set the current standard for this balancing act in a 1922 Supreme Court ruling when he said, “. . . if regulation goes too far, it will be recognized as a taking.”

Hatch's bill merely attempts to define “too far,” and it would make the burden of protesting such takings less onerous for the average citizen.

Horror stories abound of small-property owners who find they can't build on their land because of wetlands or endangered species regulations. Critics have tried to diminish the impact of these stories, but they can't explain away the witnesses who have testified of them at congressional hearings. Environmental laws are indeed important and necessary, but so are property rights.

So far, 18 states have passed similar compensation laws. The House recently passed a bill that in some ways goes farther than Hatch's version. It would compensate anyone whose property was diminished in value by 20 percent, while the Hatch version requires owners to prove a 33 percent loss.

No doubt, Congress eventually will pass a compromise version of the two bills. When it does, the planet will not spin off its axis.

The Hatch bill is not above reproach. For example, it would prohibit agencies from entering private property without the consent of the owner—a prohibition that could keep the government from ever gathering facts about a nuisance.

Critics of the Property Rights Act should read it sometime, rather than amusing themselves with strange fictions.

HE PUT OUR RIGHT TO LIVE OVER
OUR RIGHT TO KNOW

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, in early October John Scali died, the obituaries stated, of heart failure—which is interesting because John Scali was a gentleman known by his friends as being “good-hearted.” I had known John for many years in many ways and I never heard him boast, even once.

John Scali had a quiet greatness that carried him to a distinguished career as an honorable and objective journalist for ABC television, later as an adviser to President Nixon, and then as successor to George Bush as U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations.

I first met John Scali during his and my television days; he with ABC-TV in Washington and I with WRAL-TV in Raleigh. When I was elected to the Senate in 1972 John was one of the first to call. When I arrived in the Senate in January 1973 as a new boy on the block, I saw John Scali more often. He stopped by many times, seldom for an interview but mostly as a friend.

There were a few lines in a few obituaries about John that deserved more attention than they got concerning John Scali's remarkable involvement